

Normalising the abnormal: Palestinian youth and the contradictions of resilience in protracted conflict

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Abstract

This qualitative study explores the construct of resilience by Palestinian youth in the 10th to 12th grades at school living in and around Ramallah in the West Bank. We look at how adolescents themselves interpret and give meaning to the concept of resilience in dehumanising and abnormal conditions. The aim is to 'problematise' the construct to go beyond quantitative research and objective inquiry. Focus groups were conducted with 321 male and female Palestinian students in 15 schools in Ramallah and the surrounding villages. This study presents findings that are consistent with previous research on the value of supportive relationships such as families and friends. Political participation and education are vital to a sense of identity and political resistance. However, a key finding reveals the normalisation of everyday life in fostering resiliency within abnormal living conditions. Palestinian youth, nonetheless, paint a picture of resilience that reveals contradictions and tensions. This study underlines the fluid and dynamic nature of resilience. Despite the desire for order, Palestinian young people complain of emotional distress and boredom. Feelings of desperation are intermingled with optimism. We also argue that the concept of resilience developed in predominantly Western settings ignores a local idiom of communal care and support. International and local organisations providing psychosocial care rely on trauma programmes based on a Western style of counselling. An over-emphasis on individualised intervention overlooks the notion of collective resiliency and fails to build on existing social capital within communities. Policy-makers should do more than 'tweak' preconceived projects to fit the cultural context or to replicate them from one conflict area to another. We should also keep in mind that the search for psychological well-being and justice are not mutually exclusive.

Keywords: health, normalisation, Palestinian youth, policy, resilience, social care

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Introduction

The statements below from three Palestinian young people offer a glimpse into the complexities of life under military occupation.

We come to school every day because it is a challenge against occupation. Because even under stress, we go the next day and continue.

We know what the next minute will bring for us. We know which road we are taking on our way home. We know what we will be doing at home by the hour. We wish that when we go home, the driver will take another road just to change the daily routine.

I wish to have a small car, not a fancy one because I am still learning how to drive and so [it is better] to learn in a small and not expensive one.

These statements represent a prism of survival since the incursions and re-occupation of West Bank cities in the year 2002. In this study, the narratives of Palestinian adolescents capture simultaneously the normality and disruptions of life. The tapestry is interwoven with shades of resilience illustrating juxtaposed realities in the midst of conflict. In this qualitative study, we present a snapshot of resilience of Palestinian young people between the ages of 15 and 18 living in and around Ramallah in the West Bank.

The aims of this study are twofold: first, to fill a gap within resiliency research which is orientated towards a quantitative methodology and 'objective measures of health' (Ungar 2004). In the process, the interpretations and diversity of meanings given to resilience are often overlooked. At the same time, this study aims to problematise the conception of resilience and notions of the individual premised on a predominantly Western discourse (Ungar 2006). This article underlines the importance of positioning resilience within a context of 'social suffering'. The Palestinian concept of *sumud* – a determination to exist through being steadfast and rooted to the land – is at the heart of resilience. Within a Palestinian context, suffering and endurance have to be interpreted at both an individual and collective level. The construct of resilience goes beyond an individualistic interpretation: resilience is (re)constituted as a wider collective and social representation of what it means to endure.

In this study, we will also look at some of the challenges faced by social services in responding to the needs of this population. We underline the importance of locating any discussion on the delivery of care within a political and social context. The signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993 marked the beginning of a new phase and the return of the Palestinian Authority. The establishment of a quasi-state structure was accompanied by promises of increased funding and the proliferation of international and local NGOs. During this period and until the current phase, in response to the traumatising of children and youth, a range of youth services have been developed by both local and international organisations. An argument can be made that international donors have played a strategic role in the development of psychosocial programming, not just for youth but for the Palestinian population in general. Despite their emotional distress, it is questionable if a 'symptoms-based "treatment-provision" approach' (Galappatti 2003) based on a Western model of counselling is compatible with the needs of the majority of Palestinians. The emphasis on individualised relief and intervention downplays the collective resiliency of Palestinian youth and the practices of communal support and care. As Summerfield (2002) observes, the medicalised view has

served to distort the *social* suffering of war into *individual* illness such that the 'pathological effects of war are found inside a person and that the person recovers as if from an illness'.

Werner's (1996) developmental study of 640 at-risk children introduced the construct of resilience into the mental health lexicon. Despite this pioneering research on resilience, a pathogenic bias has dominated the public discourse on health (Saleebey 1996, Laursen 2000). In recent years, however, an approach that emphasises health and adaptation has been gaining currency within resiliency-oriented research. Resilience is depicted alternatively in terms of 'competence' (Masten 1998), 'capability' (Bartley 2006) or as 'restorative powers, mastery, constructive change' (Ridgway 2001). This body of work related to resilience shares certain common themes and beliefs (e.g. Cagampang *et al.* 2001, Benard 1993). A foremost assumption is the recognition of resources within individuals and communities. Proponents of resiliency critique the attention given to negative effects at the expense of health and transformation. The parlance has changed from problems to one of 'opportunities, hope and solutions' (Laursen 2000) and signals the interest in successful health outcome.

In recent years, the question of 'what works' (Resnik 2000) has been applied with greater urgency to adolescent development studies. Given the strides made in resilience research, as the rule rather than exception, Palestinian youth in common with young people from other conflict zones are consistently excluded from a discourse that values strength and health. A survey of the literature reveals a population at risk with Palestinian youth cast as objects of anxiety, depression or post-traumatic stress disorder (e.g. Quota *et al.* 2005, Miller *et al.* 1999, Al-Krenawi *et al.* 2006, Lavi & Solomon 2005). Alternatively, they are represented as pathological adolescents who resort to senseless acts of violence (Burdman 2003). The incessant attention given to 'what is wrong' (Garbarino & Kostelny 1996) serves to objectify Palestinian youth. A lexicon of pathology not only stigmatises, it precludes this population from potential life-affirming outcomes.

Since the late 1980s, Punamäki *et al.* (1997) (see Punamäki & Puhakka 1997, Punamäki *et al.* 2001) have contributed to an extensive body of research on the mental health of Palestinians living in Gaza. Nonetheless, a predominantly biomedical focus and quantitative methodology leave little room for exploring the 'thickness' of subjective experiences. As objects of testable theories, the complexity of human agency and subjectivity are given scant attention (see Loughry *et al.* 2006, Barber 1999). There is a paucity of research that looks at how Palestinian youth create the meaning of resilience within a tattered social fabric. In this qualitative

study, we shift the emphasis from measurable risk and protective factors to one of human agency in context. In asking 'how do Palestinian youth cope within their social worlds?' we explore how young people as social agents are constantly negotiating and (re)assigning meaning to resources and experiences to make sense of their suffering.

Method

Building on earlier quantitative research on violence among Palestinian youth, this study conducted a series of focus group meetings with female and male students in schools in the Ramallah District on the West Bank. These meetings took place over a 10-week period during the second quarter of 2004. We met primarily with 10th and 11th grade classes since 12th grade classes were busy preparing for the General Education Certificate of High School examination (Tawjihi). In addition to giving permission to access schools in the region, the Ministry of Education provided a list of all schools from 10th to 12th grades in both rural and urban areas. All the schools listed have counsellors on staff to ensure the welfare of students.

A total of 15 schools with a total sample population of 321 students were involved in the study. Thirteen governmental schools and two private (including a co-educational school) schools – six rural schools and nine city schools – were included in the study. The total number of students consisted of 164 girls and 137 boys in addition to 20 students from two mixed – boys and girls – groups. The students came from eight girls' schools and five boys' schools (with one school including both boys and girls in 11th grade) as well as two private schools with mixed student populations.

There were 10 focus groups with girls and nine with boys as well as two mixed groups. There were a total of 11 groups with 11th grade classes and eight groups with 10th grade classes. Two focus group discussions were held with 12th graders. The average number of students in each focus group was 13. Meetings were held on school premises and usually during school breaks.

We did not ask for consent forms, mindful that such a request would have aroused immediate suspicion and mistrust. Within the Palestinian context, official permission to enter the schools is itself accepted as consent since the Ministry is officially responsible for all students during school hours. We also chose not to tape record the discussions since the majority of Palestinians would be fearful of such evidence falling into the wrong hands. Instead, we stressed the issue of confidentiality and the freedom to participate in the focus groups. Even though students were randomly selected in some classes, only a few refused to participate. In other schools, teachers or principals insisted on choosing the students.

We posed a series of open-ended questions and prompted on themes related to daily activities, life pressures and concerns, emotional and physical distress, ways of coping and resources. The decision to adopt a qualitative research method was partly based on our interest in 'giving voice' to this marginalised population. Qualitative research also provided us with a more textured picture of their lives in the midst of conflict. Notes were transcribed after each meeting and the narratives and behaviours of participants analysed and compared. We also consulted with colleagues and referred to other quantitative studies to check on the credibility and validity of data collected.

Coding for the focus group data was completed manually over 3 weeks. Based on the principles of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1990), the data were compared and contrasted across and with the different groups until significant themes emerged from the narratives. These units of meaning were then returned to the data to be categorised and re-categorised. In the course of coding, relationships between themes were identified and established. Similar codes and significant dimensions were then subsumed under a larger theme until a set of major themes was subsequently developed.

Results

The narratives on resilience revealed several common themes from and within different groups. These themes are: dehumanisation in occupation, the web of supportive relationships, making life as normal as possible, political participation and the role of education, and continuing optimism despite hardship.

Dehumanisation

The collapse of the Israeli–Palestinian peace talks in 2000 followed by the 2002 Israeli re-invasion of Palestinian cities had a transforming effect upon daily life. The dehumanisation of life under military occupation emerges as a powerful theme in the stories of Palestinian youth. This leitmotif is woven through numerous stories in the form of chronic exposure to violence, 'imprisonment' by the separation wall as well as the crippling economic condition.

Since the reinvasion, violence has become an inescapable facet of Palestinian society. For young people, violence is embodied in countless 'checkpoints', 'closures and having to take long roads on mountains to reach places', 'having to pay more money for short distances when this money could be used for other needs' and 'seeing people get shot at'. The severe restrictions on movement have profound implications for an 11th grade girl:

It is not enough that they took our land and country away from us but they took away my dream of becoming an engineer. There is no scientific stream in my school in (village where she lives) so I had to go to (another village) for that. The humiliation I faced at the checkpoint forced me to give up the scientific stream and to come back to this school which has only arts stream. Seven of us were forced to come back to this school.

Confronted and being exposed to soldiers is another pervasive theme. Statements like '[they are] always in our faces' or that 'Israeli soldiers come in all the time whenever they want. It is part of life now' are salient to understanding the extent of fear particularly among girls. For one girl:

I always have this dream, that soldiers would come and beat me on the nose ... they came into our house once and turned everything upside down and stole my gold necklace ... I went into the bathroom to check on my necklace after they had gone and suddenly the mirror fell on my nose ... and since that time, I always have this dream, that the soldiers would come back and beat me on the nose.

In the minds of youth, soldiers represent violence; they perpetrate havoc and destruction upon the Palestinian population. As the state of siege deepens, Palestinian youth struggle with their feelings of anger, helplessness and humiliation. An 11th grader describes the humiliation he confronts daily:

I come from (name of village) which means every day I have to pass through the Israeli checkpoint near the bridge.... I have been searched, forced to take off my shirt and trousers ... even the girls who cross are forced to leave the bus and be searched.... I prefer to wait until the Israelis stop searching or go away in order to pass.... many times I reach school late ... during the second or third period.... I also get back home from school late in the afternoon.

One young man summarises his living situation succinctly, 'we are not living in prison conditions. We are living in prison'.

Economic misery

Palestinian adolescents particularly those in the villages worry about their families' financial position. A girl in a village school shares her feeling of helplessness:

My father is a taxi driver. His daily income decreased from New Israeli Shekels (NIS) 500 to NIS100/150 a day. This does not cover home expenses, barely covers car maintenance and gasoline. My mother sells in a shop. People come to her to buy things without paying any money because they don't have money. We don't have enough money ourselves so we also buy things on loan from the sales people who come to provide the shop with things. We are NIS 100 000 in debt.

Away from Ramallah city, economic life in the villages is further strangled by the building of the separation wall. The wall has led to a severe loss of land and livelihood as dunum (one acre is equivalent to 4 dunums) upon dunum of olive groves and agricultural land are razed to the ground (World Bank 2004).

Sharing and support

This research shares with previous studies (Benard 1991, Arafat & Boothby 2003) the value of supportive relationships with friends, peers and families for managing distress. We asked the question 'who would you talk to if you have problems'. The majority said they would share their problems with close friends since 'we are closer to them and spend more time with them', a 12th grade boy explains. Another boy appreciates the support he received during the 2002 invasion because 'without friends, we would not have survived'. Sharing problems is a way of 'lift[ing] a burden off the shoulder'. Examples were given of friends helping each other by listening, hanging out together, solving problems or 'guiding in the right direction'. Some boys mentioned going places to distract themselves from their problems, an option not readily open to female adolescents.

Other than friends, families play a pivotal role in providing safety and emotional support. In the words of one young man, 'no matter how intense the problem is, we would ultimately go back to normal relations with our families because the family is all we have, unlike the family ties in the West'. Girls especially, depend on a wider family network that includes parents, aunts, grandmothers, sisters, male cousins, fathers, uncles, sisters-in-law, younger and older brothers. Families would typically gather together to discuss problems even though two boys found the discussions counterproductive, 'we talk together but they talk so much about the wall and its consequences that I don't want to hear about it anymore'.

The issue of support took on a special meaning in discussions of collaborators and informants within communities. Stories about collaborators reveal an underlying climate of suspicion and tension. An insidious effect of living amidst collaborators is the erosion of trust and security. This is from an 11th grader, 'I will never talk to anyone, would rather keep it inside to protect myself especially when it comes to political matters. I don't trust anybody'. One boy in particular said:

I don't dare say anything to anyone. If I said something about attacks inside Israel or political issues, the one next to me might be a spy and report me to the Israeli authorities. What would I gain out of this? I would spend 15–20 years in prison without getting anything in return. It is better not to say anything to anyone.

Making life as normal as possible

A core narrative theme focuses on the practice of normality within everyday life. Despite political instability, the data revealed a marked degree of normality informing daily life. Within the dominant sites of home and school, adolescents perform a range of routines and rituals to establish structure and stability. Their afterschool hours are dominated by homework and domestic chores especially for girls. Some adolescent boys work with their families or on the farms in the villages. In common with young people all over the world, Palestinian adolescents spend considerable time watching television after school. Other typical activities include reading, listening to music, visiting relatives or grandparents and hanging out with friends where 'we talk, scream, dance, do stupid things' (11th grade girl). For some city and village girls, listening, praying and reading the Koran constitute a core of daily living while others are enrolled in Koran reading at the mosque.

Given the gendering of roles within Palestinian society, we were not surprised to find boys enjoying a greater degree of freedom. Their independence is reflected in more outdoor and sports oriented activities. Male adolescents spend more time at sports clubs and playing sports such as table tennis, basketball, billiards and football while others sometimes hang out on the streets till late. Girls, in contrast, reported staying at home after school. It is not surprising then to find female adolescents pursuing a wider range of solitary hobbies like poetry writing, writing for publication, reading science journals, visiting the library, drawing or taking drawing classes, and frame making. One girl reported reciting her poems to her imprisoned fiancé over the phone.

Going to school is a critical component of normal life; the hours and activities at school provide an anchor and a sense of consistency. The centrality of school is underscored when we asked a group of 12th graders what they would miss about school. In addition to missing some teachers and their counsellor, they cited the chance to joke and be with friends, to be irresponsible, to fool around and make trouble. Girls in particular look forward to going to school because staying at home is so boring that for a 10th grader, 'if we don't come to school, there is nothing to do'. To partly compensate for the lack of extra-curricular activities, some schools adopt a proactive approach. Other than sports and regular classroom routines, the girls in one school participate in science exhibitions, parties for birthdays and for being mainstreamed into the arts or sciences stream, prisoners' day, and other cultural occasions.

Political participation and education

In the face of occupation, being politically involved is a way of life for Palestinian youth. Survival is inseparable

from political activism as adolescent boys participate in stone throwing at Israeli soldiers and jeeps. Others join in street demonstrations and protests. An 11th grade boy gives this example, 'if a thief enters your home, you won't allow him to steal from you. You will beat him. This is exactly what you should do to Israeli jeeps'. For some male students in one village, stone throwing at specific times has become such a part of daily life '[that] we wait for the jeeps to enter and if they don't enter we feel there is something wrong'. The boys in a Ramallah school also spoke of 'throw[ing] stones at school when the jeep passes by the school or when we go to the Atara bridge checkpoint'.

Palestinian girls are less active politically because of family restrictions. This girl's involvement is more the exception, 'If a jeep passes by, I will throw stones and not just look at it'. In place of direct political action, the pursuit of education plays a vital role in sustaining political identity and commitment. Statements like 'Education is a challenge, defying Israelis who become furious when seeing us continue with our lives despite everything they do to us.' And 'We fight through education' or 'Education means everything. It is our only weapon. They can kill everybody including our families but not our education because it is in our heads' underscores the role of education in fostering endurance and the will to negotiate daily survival.

Discussion

A qualitative study like this highlights the complexities involved in 'unpacking' the construct of resilience. Despite the abundance of quantitative studies, the question of how Palestinian youth interpret and construct pathways to well being has received relatively little attention. The construct of resilience is further problematised when it is clear that Palestinian youth do not constitute a universal category. Because of differences in age, location, social class, education, gender, political affiliation and belief system, male and female adolescents do not always speak with one voice.

Our data shed light on three key components neglected in current discourse on resilience; context relatedness, coping through normalization, and the fluidity of resilience. First, Palestinian young people in this study reject the dominant narrative that stigmatises them as violent offenders. From their vantage point, the will to survive cannot be extricated from political resistance (Barber 2001). To be passive politically is humiliating while even minor political gestures restore a modicum of dignity. If what is at stake is 'the idea of protesting against the occupation and to make the point' (11th grade boy), this contra-interpretation by Palestinian youth challenges the simplistic dichotomy of risky vs. adaptive behaviours.

Partly because of social prohibitions, Palestinian girls express resilience through a different form. The very act of going and being at school becomes more than an ordinary daily activity. Commitment to education signifies an individual and collective act of defiance, reinforcing a sense of shared beliefs and communal belonging. However, even here, we found a diversity of viewpoints on what constitutes political commitment. Although some adolescents suggest an economic boycott of Israeli products, a number advocate for the support of families of martyrs. At the other end of the spectrum are those who acknowledge the futility of political action. As this boy explains, 'at the beginning we were more enthusiastic about the whole resistance. Now that interest has shifted to songs and Star Academy. We are not that interested in politics so we fear more now'.

Second, a major finding suggests that a unique feature of resilience lies in its very ordinariness, a dimension overlooked in resiliency research. In this study, resilience is reframed as a dynamic process embedded in agency and everyday practices. The capacity to endure has to be understood within a micro context of ordinary life, all too often obscured by the harsh political realities. For Palestinian youth, resiliency is rooted in the capacity to make life as normal as possible. During the first Intifada, Baker (1990) found that Palestinian children with mothers who were able to provide a routine and support through stories, activities and ways of protecting the family were less likely to develop psychological symptoms. Pickens (1999), too, identifies the desire for normality among people with severe mental health problems. Common activities such as 'going out for coffee or to eat in restaurants, going to a mall, attending church, playing bingo and going to swap meets and rummage sales' promote a sense of wellness and independence. Familiar routines that minimise disruptions and chaos reclaim the ordinariness of daily life and bolster a sense of autonomy (see Pat-Horenczyk *et al.* 2006).

Nordstrom & Robben (1995) note that 'the lives of those who suffer under violence or are engaged in warfare are not defined exclusively in global political, economic, social, or military terms but also in the small, often creative, acts of the everyday'. Our way of thinking is influenced by Bourdieu and his concept of habitus:

While the habitus sets the wide parameters of a person's activities, people have also to be understood as creative beings. In particular situations people have to 'improvise' on background resources (of the habitus) in order to be able to deal with the unpredictable situations that are a constant feature of everyday life. (Layder 1994)

Normality is not only restored through an individual assemblage of tactics, ways of doing and strategies (de

Certeau 1988, Smith 1987). What clearly emerged from the data is that social organisations embedded within the community such as the family, schools and local clubs provide organisation and structure within everyday life.

Third, resilience is more than a summary of linear and causal processes between antecedent behaviours and positive assets. For Palestinian adolescents, being steadfast neither precludes nor excludes feelings of emotional distress or sheer boredom. Palestinian girls in particular, talk about political commitment and complain about nervousness and a loss of appetite in the same breath. In one school outside Ramallah, some girls reported napping for 2 to 3 hours after school. Similar complaints from Palestinian boys that 'everything' is boring helped to put into perspective the meaning underlying these napping sessions. As much as young people desire a normal life, they are suffocated by the tedium and monotony of routine.

For adolescent girls especially, social and cultural codes contribute to their sense of boredom. Statements like 'I don't like to leave home. My family started forbidding me from going out when I was in 9th grade' and 'even if we want to go out, we are always asked what time we will be back home. This control issue makes us upset even before leaving the house' reflect parental pressure on the autonomy of girls (UNICEF & Development Studies Programme 1999). Under the circumstances, making a normal life is in turn, protective and mind numbing. For many Palestinian youth, growing desperation and hopelessness is intermingled with optimism and shared narratives fostering a sense of coherence. The changing nature of social relations within Palestinian society further illustrates this contradiction. Even as the legacy of *sumud* (steadfastness) sustains a cohesive communal life, the presence of collaborators cuts into the social fabric and weakens individual and collective resolve.

In view of our findings, we question Kostelny & Garbarino's (1994) interpretation of resilience. In their research on Palestinian adolescents during the first Intifada, they found that over time, the initial spirit of resistance was replaced by depression and desperation. They asked if 'the protective effects of strong ideology may not be able to be sustained, particularly among adolescents, for an extended period of time'. Our response is that what is at stake here is not just the protective function of ideology but an understanding of the episodic nature of resilience. Resilience does not exist as a static quality or a mechanistic process but in a continuum that varies over time and context. To emphasise the fluid nature of resilience is not to imply its hazardous quality. Rather, it is a reminder of its complexity as the trajectory of resilience reflects the course of life itself.

Conclusion

The motif of dehumanisation of life provides the backdrop to an understanding of resiliency in chronic political conflict (Giacaman *et al.* 2004). Despite their distress, the extent to which Palestinian youth share similar aspirations with other young people is striking. They are just as interested in education, travel, romance/relationships and economic opportunities. One way of understanding this finding is to put in perspective the ability of young people to negotiate a relatively normal life despite adversities. Recovery, as Summerfield (2002) observes, is 'grounded in the resumption of the ordinary rhythms of everyday life – the familial, sociocultural, religious and economic activities that make the world intelligible'. **The adaptive capacity of Palestinian adolescents is nurtured through a system of multisectoral communal care. Social capital in the form of a cohesive network of clan, family, friends, caring adults as well as support through schools and neighbourhood clubs provide sustenance. At** the same time, faith, education and a commitment to justice strengthen resolve and endurance.

Yet, a policy gap and discordance appears to exist between a community-based approach to care and the services offered by social institutions. Two points are worth considering. First, many Palestinian institutions lack the capacity to provide adequate care because of the lack of resources and funding. As Roy (1999) argues, there has been a process of steady de-development within Palestine since the Oslo Accords. In the current year (2006–2007), government institutions have been further crippled by the withholding of funding leading to salary cuts and strikes by Ministry employees.

Second, international donors have imposed a model of what is acceptable psychosocial programming based on a model developed in Western countries. Since the second Intifada, not only has the humanitarian response shifted from development to emergency, 'international donor organizations promoted and imported a variety of intervention methods designed to mitigate against post-traumatic stress disorder providing local staff with short training programmes and limited follow-up' (Lindsay *et al.* 2007). A biomedical model of psychiatry that focuses on individual counselling neglects a culturally framed network of community fortitude and support. A local idiom of care rooted within the community is ignored; psychological counselling is adopted as the mantra of the helping profession. In their study of Bosnian children, Jones & Kafetsios (2002) suggest the fostering of new social networks may be more beneficial than individual counselling. Similarly, Loughry *et al.* (2006) see the benefit of structured activities for Palestinian children. A social problem like boredom

which has its roots in military occupation cannot be 'cured' through individual counselling.

As Patel *et al.* (2007) conclude, 'the key to promoting youth mental health is through strengthening of the fundamental nurturing qualities of the family system and community networks while explicitly acknowledging the rights of young people.' In this study, our recommendation is for policy makers in the social and humanitarian field to rethink and to go beyond simply 'tweaking' and fine-tuning preconceived projects to make them fit the cultural context. We must do more than simply replicate formulaic psychosocial projects with little prospect for sustainability from one conflict area to another. In the process of rebuilding social capital, we should also keep in mind that the search for psychological well-being and justice is not mutually exclusive.

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